/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

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766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[184] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanomámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[794] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians
774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras
774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant
[782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized
[192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Suráre
Pakidái

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[171]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/95 cont./

796 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 191 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

773 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

774 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

774 775 184 [184] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./
775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
[769] come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[266] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surara
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174] [196]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[191]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
● 774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
778 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[776] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[775] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
● 774 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the
● 774 ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great
774 sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think
756 of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest,
774 gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth
[764] after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of
[276] yopo, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with
[793] sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwīawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while
825 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ōkamō against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from
[825] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
[753] híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
755 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
774 off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24)

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

• 774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of
773 our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact
825 that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us,
[774] furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew
[773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between
[763] the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are
[763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá
755 society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

7/ [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health; the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/485/ nt./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Suliliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

• 794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bubii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waka*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ubudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu:* It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bubii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mobade*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ubudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ubudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ubudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The *noreshi* animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[153] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[562] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.
[858] After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[749] [13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, are quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The